

# AZANIA COMBAT

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and letters*

EDITORIAL: 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF SHARPEVILLE-LANGA

## SOBUKWE WON'T

## OBLIGE VORSTER

— Interview P5

### Orbituary:

After a lengthy darkness a brilliant dawn peeped from behind Mount Darwin on Zimbabwe's north-east, it rapidly burst out on the horizon and soon its light was washing the prairie, the rivers and the forests below. Forlorn faces amongst the peasants gave way to bright smiles and the hope swelling in their hearts raced like wild fire to villages further afield. In no time the enthusiasm generated by the new dawn covered every Black heart from Salisbury to Bulawayo, taking with it Plum Tree, Que Que, Gwelo, Umtali and every location with a Black soul in it.

The people of Zimbabwe had known this feeling before, when the warriors of Lubengula and Mzilikazi had gone out into battle. The new dawn represented the revival of CHIMURENGA, the War of Liberation. When ZANU got ready to resume the forefathers' historic battle the National Executive Committee recalled Herbert Chitepo to assume the trying role of Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. Although he had excelled himself as a scholar from Fort Hare in Azania to the Inns of Court in London, Herbert was an untried quantity in the art of political leadership, at that level, and in military generalship. But he had a reputation of making a success of everything he tried: academics, the law practice (both in Zimbabwe and as Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanzania) and in business. Herbert Chitepo was the embodiment of how to force success out of adversity. In his open doors home in Salisbury he not only entertained his own countrymen from all walks of life, he and his warm hearted and truly beautiful Azanian wife - Victoria - frequently played host to visitors from all over Southern, Central and Eastern Africa, including Sir Seretse Khama.

And now he is gone. The victim of an assassin in the employ of the forces of reaction. It is Vorster and Smith who stood to gain most from the murder of Chitepo, in the short term, and it is all reactionaries, in the long term. At least that is what they think. But let them take note of this solemn promise from ZANU: "We shall not be intimidated ... we will hit hard. There will be no compromise or surrender on principles and policies. We shall fight to the bitter end". ZANU's loss is PAC's loss. Together we will evenge Comrade Chitepo.



Herbet Chitepo, Chairman of ZANU, assassinated on March 18, 1975, in Lusaka, Zambia.

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And we will remember Herbert for his greatest success of all - his brilliant leadership of ZANU when it re-launched CHIMURENGA. Phamberi! -EDITOR.

EDITORIAL15TH ANNIVERSARY OF SHARPEVILLE-LANGA

All the arguments why Africa should not be taken in by the latest in a long list of apartheid South Africa's dirty tricks to divide Africans and undermine the Azanian revolution have come in. As we commemorate the 15th Anniversary of the massacres at Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga and Vanderbijl Park Vorster's sham detente is lying in shambles. From East to West and from the North to the South African leaders are rallying behind the Azanian people's just struggle and have taken the opportunity of this outstanding date in the calendar of the Azanian national liberation struggle to declare their uncompromising support for the programme of armed struggle for the overthrow of apartheid oppression and exploitation.

Vorster, aided by powerful support from the Anglo-American imperialists, with the entire Western mass media chanting a well orchestrated and full-throated chorus of "detente", worked tirelessly to project himself and his neo-Nazi cohorts as misunderstood "peace lovers". It came out during a Congressional hearing in Washington DC that the US Assistant Secretary of State, Donal Easum, acted as a secret "broker" between Vorster and some OAU members; there was also British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan secretly pre-arranged meeting with Vorster in Port Elizabeth during the former's much heralded African tour last December and January. These contacts with leading officials of the US and UK governments are proof of Anglo-American imperialist involvement in the sustained campaign to gain Vorster respectability in free Africa and undermine support for the Azanian liberation movement.

Bloodbaths & detente

Fully recalling the sanguinary record of the South African apartheid regime in putting down peaceful demonstrations for freedom and dignity the Acting Administrative Secretary General of the OAU, Brother Kamanda, stated: "The heroic example of the Sharpeville martyrs is there to remind our children and grandchildren forever that Africa is a continent of freemen. Glory to the Sharpeville martyrs who carpeted the road to freedom with their blood. The OAU reaffirms its total support for the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom and for the eradication of apartheid". At a meeting to mark the 15th Anniversary President Sekou Toure of Guinea condemned Vorster's attempts to divide the OAU and resolutely affirmed that "Guinea fights unconditionally against apartheid and stands side by side with the brotherly people still suffering from racial discrimination". President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia cabled the UN to assure that his country is in unity with all people suffering under racial discrimination, especially the people of Southern Africa and Palestine. Driving the point home on sham detente against the background of the Sharpeville bloodbath Dr Okoi Arikpo, Nigeria's Commissioner of External Affairs, said: "The significance of this year's anniversary is the timely warning it gives to all African countries about the dangers of believing that the South African government is about to change its policy towards the Blackman". Speaking at a rally organised by PAC and TANU Youth League in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, the Junior Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Isaac Sepetu, stated: "Vorster's pronouncements of detente are sheer lies." In Kenya Foreign Minister Waiyaki said: "The Government of Kenya will continue to render moral and material support to the liberation movements in their just struggle to free Black people from apartheid tyranny". He condemned the so-called Bantustans as "a farce, a travesty of independence and a sordid manoeuvre to perpetuate white domination". In conclusion he said "Kenya has no alternative but to support the armed struggle if apartheid South Africa continues to refuse to accept the principles of freedom, justice, equality and human dignity". And detente "can only be seen as another imperialist scheme to divide Africa and break up the OAU".

Editorial (Cont.)

All of these unequivocal statements and declarations of support are a blow against the protagonists of unprincipled detente and Vorster's double talk and double dealing. They are also a manifestation of the continuing support enjoyed by all those fighting to bring down the apartheid fascist regime and restore a democratic and non-racial government of all the Azanian people. As Comrade Sepetu stated in his speech: "South Africa should have a government based on human dignity and equality". The solidarity is partly due to mankind's abhorrence of systems that advocate the oppression and exploitation of human beings wherever they are. But mostly it is due to the sacrifices of the 83 martyrs who, together with hundreds and thousands of their compatriots, responded to Mangaliso Sobukwe and the P.A.C.'s call to Positive Action on March 21, in 1960, that the international community stands in solidarity with oppressed Azanians. Sharing in this honour are all those Azanians who have emulated the selfless Spirit of Sharpeville and have suffered incarceration, banishment, hanging, torture and all forms of tyrannical repression under Vorster and his gang. Foremost amongst these are the Azanian guerillas who have laid down their lives in neighbouring countries in a struggle to rejoin the resistance at home, and also the Black consciousness activists who have kept the liberation flame aglow through strikes and demonstrations that have led to detentions and the trial under the Terrorism Act which resumes on April 24, in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Attempts to sell Sharpeville-Langa and all Azanian people's sacrifices short will continue to be frustrated only if we unite and persevere in struggle - till final victory!



To publicise SHARPEVILLE DAY rallies organised throughout the Netherlands the Azania Committee sponsored the above pictured bicycles-with-slogans ride-around-the-city demonstrations in Rotterdam, one of Europe's largest port cities.

Sobukwe will not oblige  
Vorster

Kimberley:- In the wake of the outbreak  
of so-called detente between the South  
African apartheid regime and some members

of the OAU an American journalist, Andrew Silk, travelled to Kimberley to interview  
the President of the Pan Africanist Congress. The journalist's report is  
published below, under permission from the American magazine Africa Report:

A \$100-a-month African law clerk sits and waits in the diamond town of Kimberley,  
South Africa, as the subdued excitement of a blackening southern African sweeps  
his country.

He is a part of the change, but his presence is invisible - his words are not  
allowed to be heard in the press, he cannot speak to more than one person outside  
his family at a time, and he is confined to the town during the day, to his  
house at night.

Visitors come to pay homage and seek out his political advice, but he spends most  
of his day dealing with poor men's crime and guiding his clients through apartheid  
law.

Robert Mongaliso Sobukwe, president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, who along  
with Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress symbolises for the world  
the Southern African Black Man's political and social struggle, has lived a  
quiet life since he was arrested 14 years ago - the morning before police gunned  
down African demonstrators in the Black township of Sharpeville. Imprisoned for  
three years under a Suppression of Communism Act, in solitary confinement on  
Robben Island off Cape Town for six more, and under a maze of restrictions as a  
'banned person' since his release in 1969, he has spent his time studying and  
practising law, reading, and raising chickens.

It is here in the sleepy, lonely town where Cecil Rhodes began to build his empire  
that he has watched the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the release of  
Rhodesian political prisoners. Here, too, where he has listened to the new cries  
from White and Black leaders inside the country for the government to take off  
his muzzle. "If South Africa wants the world and its own Black people to believe  
in the sincerity of its desire for change and detente with the rest of the  
continent, it must release Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela, and all political prisoners  
"the Rand Daily Mail of Johannesburg warned in a front page editorial.

#### New anxiousness

But Pretoria was not being told anything it didn't know already - their freedom  
is called for in the founding charter of the Organisation for African Unity.

"The time is almost here, "his friends tell him. They reason that Vorster  
cannot live for long with the contradiction of having pressed for the release of  
liberation leaders Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole of Rhodesia while keeping  
"his own" detainees under restrictions. Sobukwe doesn't comment but smiles  
gently - with the peace of a man for whom time has ceased to matter because of his  
conviction that the time will come. But his voice betrays a new anxiousness.

"I can feel for the first time in years the re-emergence of a national movement,  
"he tells visitors. "Political movements are a kind of peristalsis - I think things  
are about to swell again."

It is difficult now to separate the facts from the legend of Blacks and fears of  
Whites which have grown up since the last great era of South African protest.  
But it is the climate that is remembered - it was the heyday of African Nationalism.  
In 1960 alone, 17 countries became independent. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was at  
his tallest, talking about a United States of Africa with the same fervour that  
a different liberator had spoken of the need for a United States of America

100 years earlier.

In South Africa, the Nationalist party had been in power for 12 years, but their control was still not firm, the legislation needed to manipulate and silence both spontaneous and organised protest had not yet been drafted. No policy of 'seperate development' or 'independent homelands' had yet been dreamed up 'baaskaap' or 'master rule' was the simpler ideology which guided the country.

South Africa, though, was still a part of the continent - and its Black leaders were of the same mould as those in countries to the north which were much closer to independence. (Many of them had in fact studied in South Africa either at the all-Black independent college at Fort Hare, or at the University of the Witwatersrand, which until 1958 was allowed to educate Blacks).

Using civil disobedience campaigns, Sobukwe, Mandela, and their older and often wiser mentor Chief Albert Luthuli struck out at the 'pass laws' with thousands of men and women turning in their pass books, which still tell a person where he must live and work, and offering themselves up for arrest. This was how it ended for Sobukwe - he handed in his book, walked into a cell and has never really been able to walk out since.

#### Triumphs

It seems much different now. Nkrumah's name is eulogised, but his vision is blurred by the squabblings of new states. In South Africa things seem to have gotten better and worse at the same time - the balkanisation of different tribes into 'homelands' has resulted in the resettlement of more than a million people, while on the fringes, apartheid lines have begun to break and a Black middle class is being born. More ominously, the security police is finely tuned and the army well-trained and massively armed.

But to Sobukwe, neither the unity of Africa and the methods needed to achieve it, nor the basic structure of South Africa, and the tactics needed to undermine it have changed. The triumphs in Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia, while significant in that they rewrite the map around the country, and inject it with new hope, do not, he believes, signal any real change within South Africa - for it had not weakened the White man's desire to cling to power. "Sure the country is wealthier than it was 12 years ago. There are more Blacks in better jobs making more money. But the harsh brutality of racism has continued. The pass system, which is the essence of apartheid, is even stronger and more efficient that it was when we were working against it."

He holds little stock in civil disobedience: "They'd smash you before you had a chance."

However, much of the country's strength, he thinks, is illusory. While granting the financial power of his highly industrialised nation, he agrees with the South African journalist who warns that it is impossible to seperate the country's economic heart from its liver, and asks if system based on an underpaid and repressed work force can be said to be healthy.

And in the eventuality of widespread violence coming either from inside or outside the country, the South African army would be helpless. "Do you think the world would permit another Sharpeville", he asks? If there were to be intervention from the border, he has no doubts that FRELIMO and a majority-ruled Rhodesia would allow its land to be used as guerilla bases - if not on their own accord, at least under OAU pressure.

Since the fundamental issue of majority rule has not yet been dealt with, he believes that it will be the ANC and PAC (which broke from ANC over ideological and personal differences - they would not admit Whites, and would not cooperate with the communists) who will ultimately inherit the country.

#### Gatsha is limited

He talks with sadness about the Black leadership which has grown up since his imprisonment - of the homeland leaders he feels have compromised themselves too much - either with the best intentions or out of human frailty.

"Gatsha and I have been friends for a long time," he says, speaking of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the most outspoken of all homeland leaders. "I know why he ran, and in some ways I respect him for it. But when he allows himself to appear in advertisements urging investment in South Africa, he has gone too far. In a sense, though, it is inevitable - no matter how much he professes to speak for all of the Black people in South Africa, he must take care of his own people, the Zulus, in order to stay in power - and so his vision is limited."

As he talks of White and Black politics, though, he insists that he is not a politician, in the sense that he is a manipulator of men and power. Georgia congressman Andrew Young visited him recently, and after a few hours assured Sobukwe that the time would come when Prime Minister Vorster would come to talk to him. But he doubted that he would oblige the man - unless he did so in his capacity as head of the PAC. It was not so much the man's policies as his utter amorality - he seemed to have no other principles than to hang on.

Sobukwe talks with such a lack of anger and bitterness, that it makes it hard to believe all that he has gone through -- until you realise that those qualities are the only ones that have made him able to do it. "That's always been my problem," he laughs. "I seem like such a nice, quiet guy, that people don't always take me seriously. I remember in prison the first time, the warden called me in and asked how, since I seemed like such a nice guy and had come from a rural area in the Free State, I had gotten mixed up in politics. I told him it was the White man."

"The Afrikaner turned to his assistant and said, 'See, I told you the African is alright by himself, it is only when he is influenced by Whites that he gets into trouble.' I then excused myself, and said that I was afraid he didn't understand -- it was not the White man, but the White man's laws that had made me do what I did."

But Sobukwe can even look at those laws without bitterness. He doesn't mind talking about six years in solitary confinement, but he says there isn't much to tell. "I do remember though there was a time at the beginning when they were feeding me Coloured rations, which were even worse than what they gave the Blacks. But then it was announced that the Red Cross was coming to inspect me, and they started feeding me from the staff kitchen. I didn't want the people to come and see me looking like a pork chop, so I used to take a few slices of bread and give the rest to the seagulls. I never watched my weight so carefully."

He says that now, under constant surveillance, he can not complain about the security police, who keep close watch on the mail he receives, the people he meets, and the places he and his family goes. "We get along very well. I know they have a job to do, and try not to give them any trouble. Anyway, even in a Black South Africa, we'd probably need a security police."

While he accepts favours sometimes from his guards -- occasional trips to the movies -- he refuses to cooperate with the Justice department. When his "banning order" was renewed last May, he was told that if he appealed, he might have a chance to have it rescinded. He politely declined, saying he would plead his case to no one.



Courage

As Robert Sobukwe walks down Kimberley streets and greets a friend in Afrikaans, drawing gazes not out of awe but of comfortable respect, you forget that he is a man living half a life. He says there are days when he too forgets, and immerses himself in his adopted profession. He hopes to set up his own law office in a few months. But he has not done this without moral conflict -- to be allowed to argue cases in court, he has had to take an oath of loyalty to the South African government. And perhaps in a larger sense, he sees his work as futile.

He leaves no doubt that he is doing it to pass the time. "What would I do if I were free?" "Nothing much different unless they let me organise -- then I'd pick up where I left off".

Few in South Africa doubt his determination or courage -- just as few doubted that of Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth Kauda, Nkomo and Sithole, when they were detained. And many are either frightened or hopeful of his potential power in Black townships and rural areas -- where millions remember his name, and are also sitting and waiting.

But at the same time, there is skepticism on different sides of Sobukwe -- while not denying his stature as a human being, some wonder whether his time has come and gone -- and whether the era of romantic nationalism has been lost forever to a more cynical age of economic and political bargaining inside and outside the country.

By keeping Sobukwe and Mandela in chains, they say, the government has sustained myths that would fall away, were the men released and faced the complexities of southern Africa. Blacks rights will eventually come -- but the system has become too unwieldy to be led by one man with an admirable, but naive idealism.

From a different angle, younger radicals look with respect but impatience at Sobukwe and his organisation. His Nationalism they say must be replaced by hard-line economic struggle -- the battlefield they argue is on the assembly lines and in the mines.

They are also annoyed at the infighting of PAC and ANC -- who even after liberation movements in Angola and Rhodesia have reached an uneasy peace, they with a much harder task are still battling each other. It is, they say, symptomatic of a need for new leadership -- just as Sobukwe and Mandela replaced those who came before them.

These new spokesmen want people to hear Sobukwe's words -- but suspect that his voice is more of the past than the future.

No "peaceful road" for Terrorism  
Act detainees

Johannesburg. -- The article below is  
an extract from the Johannesburg based  
Program for Social Change's 2nd Report on

the Arrest, Detention and trial of members of Black organisations in Azania. It exposes the shameless double talk of the South African apartheid regime, the report cannot be ignored by anyone who genuinely has the interest of the oppressed Azanians in mind:

It is now nearly three months since the first group of supporters of BAWU, BPC, SASO and TECON were arrested after a proposed Frelimo rally at urries Fountain, Durban. Those originally detained, along with a large number of others held under the Terrorism Act, are still in prison without access to family, friends, doctors or lawyers.

Security police swoops, arrests and detentions have continued. At least eight people are known to have been arrested and detained during the past month (Dec '74).



Like the others they have been held incommunicado. The strict secrecy surrounding all the detentions makes it impossible to know whether others, in addition, have been detained. It has been conservatively estimated that forty people are presently detained in this way.

**Security** police action has, however, not been restricted to long-term incommunicado detentions. Numerous instances have been reported of individuals who have been arrested or told to come to security police offices where they have been held for anything from a few hours to a few days. Such short detentions have involved questioning and interrogation. Detentions of this nature have involved a wide range of Black people including some for the seemingly innocuous reason of having paid a R1,00 donation to one of the organisations presently being harassed.

It is possible to interpret the position as indicating a continuing attempt to intimidate and disrupt the key organisations which have been proponents of Black Consciousness.

Government action is seemingly directed at objective similar to those in the early 1960's which broke down the forceful and articulate opposition to white domination which had emerged and was increasingly gaining support in the Black Community. The style is now more subtle and backed by more sophisticated oppressive legislation which makes it easier for the Security Police to operate without being challenged in any way, either by the legislature or the judiciary

#### Detentions and exile

Effects of security police action cannot be confined to the detentions. Many Blacks involved in these Black Consciousness organisations have been forced into hiding. Of greater consequence is the large number of people, estimated at 50, who have fled to Botswana, swelling the already large number of exiles living in Africa and Europe. ;

With all the activity on the part of the Security Police and with the long time lapse, it is still not known whether any charges will be laid. The Minister of Justice recently stated that the detainees would be charged within the next three weeks, probably early in January. Whatever happens it appears likely that the arrested people will remain incommunicado for some time and that further actions against Black Consciousness organizations are likely to occur.

#### NAMES OF DETAINED PEOPLE

Since the original report at least eleven more people are known to have been arrested and are being held incommunicado. They include:-

Drake Koka  
Aubrey Mokoena  
Thomas Manthata  
Rubin Hare  
Nikki Titus  
Albert Beukes  
Stephen Carolus  
Harold Dixon  
Zithulele Cindi  
Veli Mnguni  
Mzimkhulu Gwentshe

The first seven of this list were held in a nation-wide swoop on 7th November, 1974. Some were taken from their homes while others were arrested at their places of work. On no occasion were the next of kin informed of the arrests and detentions, without first having to make enquiries. Among those people held is the leader of BAWU. In this swoop the security police net has widened to

include a staff member of B.C.P. (Black Community Programmes), an organisation whose supporters and staff had not been previously affected in the current wave of arrests. Like the others it is an organisation which has been concerned with the development of Black Consciousness, in this case through self-reliance and development programmes. Zithulele Cindi was detained in Soweto a week before this group. As far as can be established all eight of these detainees are held under the Terrorism Act. Veli Mnguni was detained on 14th November 1974 at his home. He is married with two children and is not known to be involved in any of the organisations. He was released on 21st November 1974 after being in detention for 8 days. No charges have been laid. Mzimkhulu Gwentshe is presently being held. The date and reasons for his detention are not known.

As of Monday 23rd December 1974 the following are known to be still held incommunicado:-

1. Lindelwe Mabandla (arrested 25.9.74) - Research Officer BAWU - 91 days.
2. Brigitte Mabandla (28.9.74) - Youth Organiser, S.A.I.R.R. SASO/BPC - 88 days.
3. Saths Cooper (25.9.74) - Banned, ex-PRO. BPC - 91 days
4. Revabalan Cooper (25.9.74) - TECON/BPC - 91 days.
5. Ahmed Bawa (25.9.74) - BPC supporter - 91 days.
6. Harry Singh (27.9.74) - PRO, BPC - 89 days.
7. Muntu Myeza (25.9.74) - Secretary General SASO - 91 days.
8. Haroon Ziziz (25.9.74) - TECON - 91 days.
9. Yugen Naidoo (25.9.74) - BPC - 91 days.
10. Mosioua Lekota (25.9.74) - Permanent Organiser SASO - 91 days.
11. Rev. Mashwabada Mayatula (25.9.74) - BPC, Lutheran Priest - 91 days.
12. Strini Moodley (11.10.74) - Banned, ex-administrative assistant SASO Editor - 74 days.
13. Dr. Aubrey Mokoape (11.10.74) - Medical Practitioner, BPC - 74 days.
14. Ben Langa (11.10.74) - Banned, ex-SASO - 74 days.
15. Mapetla Mohapi (11.10.74) - Youth organiser - SASO - 74 days.
16. Pumzile Majeke (11.10.74) - ex SASO Administrative Assistant, 74 days.
17. Pandelani Nefolovhodwe (11.10.74) - President of SASO - 74 days.
18. Menziwe Mbeo (26.9.74) - BAWU organiser - 90 days.
19. Nkwenkwe Nkomo - National organiser BPC (Johannesburg) (7.10.74) - 78 days.
20. Jerry Modisane - banned, ex-SASO President (Kimberley)
21. Nyameko Pityana - ex-Secretary General (Port Elizabeth)
22. Landingwe Danile - Youth Organiser, SASO (Cape Town.)
23. Mahlomola Skosana - (7.10.74) - (Johannesburg) - 78 days.
24. Buma Bukwe (Kokstad)
25. Paul Tsotetsi (Johannesburg) BPC (11.10.74) - 74 days.
26. Kaunda Sedibe - SRC President University of the North, where he was arrested.
27. Cyril Ramaphosa - SASO Local Chairman University of the North.
28. Zithulele Cindi - (7.11.74) - BPC organiser - 43 days.
29. Drake Koka - (7.11.74) - Banned General Secretary BAWU - 43 days.
30. Aubrey Mokoena - (7.11.74) - BPC: Organiser - 43 days.
31. Thomas Manthata - (7.11.74) - BPC Supporter - 43 days. Works for South African Council of Churches.
32. Rubin Hare - (7.11.74) - Vice President of SASO - 43 days.
33. Nikki Titus - (7.11.74) - 43 days.
34. Steven Carolus - (7.11.74) 43 days.
35. Albert Beukes - (7.11.74) 43 days.
36. Harold Dixon - (7.11.74) - 43 days.
37. Mzimkhulu Gwentshe - Date of detention unknown.

Secrecy surrounding the detentions makes it difficult to assess whether the list is completely correct or up to date.

Prof. A. Mathews, a prominent professor of Law in South Africa recently wrote...

"There appears to be no system of detention whether operating in a dictatorship or totalitarian society, which affords a detainee less rights than the detention provisions set out in section 6 of the South African Terrorism Act." (Star 14th November, 1974.)

#### Black Women Petition

A group of Black Women organised a petition to the State President, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Prisons condemning the detentions and demanding the release of the detainees.. The petition was taken by a deputation of women to Pretoria on 19th November 1974. They were not allowed to see any of the relevant ministers nor given access to the State President.

#### Students

NUSAS has made a statement condemning the arbitrary incommunicado detentions. They have stressed that the call should not be "charge or release" but just "release political detainees". Further responses from white students have not been forthcoming.

#### Suffering ignored

The wide-spread arrests and detentions are a clear indication that the recent "enlightened protestations" of Mr. Vorster and Mr. Pik Botha are merely facades. While extending one hand of friendship to nations of Black Africa they are instrumental in beating the Black consciousness organisations, SASO BPC, BCP, BAWU and TECON and these Black people, who from within South Africa oppose the powerfully oppressive white structure with the other hand.

Yet still the press gives more attention to the statements of Mr. Vorster and Mr. Botha. Often ignored are the intense anger, hatred and uncertainty which have been generated by the arrests and detentions.

Ignored also is the intense suffering being caused to hundreds of individuals, the detainees themselves, their families and friends. They must carry the deep uncertainty and fear of what is happening in the prisons, of when the detainees will be released, of where the money is to come from to pay for the needs of families whose breadwinner has been detained.

It is essential that all that happens in relation to the arrests and detentions remains before the world as a clear statement of what is really happening beyond the facade portrayed by Mr. Vorster and Mr. Pik Botha.

A Democratic Azania:  
P.A.C's Minimum demand

Kinshasa:- Last January the Government of Zaire and the African-American Institute jointly sponsored a Conference of African

and American representatives in Kinshasa and invited Potlako K. Leballo, Acting President of the P.A.C. to attend. In Brother Leballo's place the P.A.C. sent David M. Sibeko, the representative in Europe and the Americas. The issue which dominated the conference was decolonisation and the struggle against the South African apartheid regime; the P.A.C. was invited to state its position against the background of recent developments in Southern Africa, summed up in a 13 point questionnaire prepared by the sponsors. Brother Sibeko addressed himself to these points:-

1. Is the Vorster regime moving toward meaningful changes as claimed by his representative at the UN during the Security Council debate on South Africa last October? The simple answer is no.

We may be witnessing the application of cosmetics on the all round ugly features of apartheid but meaningful change for the people of Azania would be the abandonment of the evil system in its entirety; that is not happening. What is more is that it will not happen, not without the Azanian liberation movement and the oppressed masses forcing it to happen. The mock repentance simulated by Vorster's man in the UN, as well as his master's sham appeal for six to twelve month's grace in which to introduce certain changes, were simply designed to stay the expulsion of South Africa from the world body. The most casual glance at the speech by Pik Botha reveals that Botha used a lot of new words to camouflage apartheid but nowhere is there any mention of fundamental changes in the system. How else can anyone, of even average intelligence, interpret tongue-in-cheek denunciations of institutionalised racial discrimination which were made in the same breath as the appeal for the international community to accept the fraudulent policy of so-called separate development? How can we conveniently pay attention only to Vorster's six months appeal? And brush aside the promise he immediately thereafter made to his Nigel constituency, asking his white settler followers not to be caused anxiety by South African, English and world media speculation on what he meant by asking for six to twelve months, but to rest assured that "in South Africa the white man will always rule." If one is speaking of changes in Vorster against the background of sustained persecution of apartheid's opponents - like the 50 and more SASO and BPC people who have been held under the Terrorism Act in indefinite detention since they led pro-FRELIMO demonstrations - then one exposes him or herself to the charge of trifling with the lives of the people suffering under this most fascist of regimes.

2. What has been the effect of the decision of the large majority of UN member states to have apartheid South Africa's delegation expelled from the General Assembly? We will break the answer to this one into two: First, the panic moves by Vorster to try and come into contact with free Africa make it abundantly clear that the white minority regime and its settler population live in mortal fear of increasing isolation. Having been kicked out of all of the world labour, health, cultural, sports and out of other major organisations of international cooperation and understanding, white South Africa is seized by the most violent attack of claustrophobia. The regime fears that therein lies the seeds of a kind of white rebellion, at least from the hitherto complacent English section of the population. The unabated Anglo-Boer war of words between the Afrikaner and English press reflects this tension; increasing isolation will inevitably lead to what is today an Anglo-Boer cold war developing into a much warmer one, even if it may not result in actual inter-tribal fighting between the Boers and the Rooinek, the mutually derogative names by which the two white tribes call each other. Second, every correspondence I have received and every message that has been passed on to the External Mission from Azania is unanimous in its praise for the excellent victory scored by the OAU - with the P.A.C. forming part of the spearhead in the attack - in getting the white minority regime's representatives expelled from the UN General Assembly. It is also well known and truly appreciated by our people that the PAC and ANC are recognised by both the OAU and the United Nations as the legitimate representatives of the people of Azania. From the speeches and resolutions of Black people's meetings and conventions held late last year in Azania it is evident that our people, whose actions are the most decisive in forcing change to come about in our country, are greatly inspired by what took place in New York during the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly. The Black Renaissance Convention which took place in Hammankraal, near Pretoria, last December, solemnly endorsed the Azanian liberation movement's call for an international boycott of South Africa extending to the supply of arms, economic relations, manpower supply and educational and cultural ties. This resolution was even couched in UN parlance; the resolution says: we are making the call because South Africa is "a threat to international peace and security". The political pygmies from the Transkei Bantustan and from the so-called Indian and Coloured Councils who were part of the apartheid circus at the UN were denounced at a BPC mass meeting in Durban's Kameel Hall as 'clowns'. The two responses, the white reaction and the Black reaction, demonstrate that the white supremacists

are on the retreat and the struggling masses are on the advance. This is a law of development in our struggle which the enemy cannot control, it shows that the chances of eliminating apartheid have increased with the Vorster regime's expulsion from the UN General Assembly.

3. PAC is not in a position to answer for the OAU but the article of its charter are unequivocal on the question of colonialism and white minority rule: Nothing short of majority rule in South Africa would be acceptable to the OAU. The same applies to the UN in as far as the Bantustans fraud is concerned, it has been rejected in resolution after resolution and we do not expect member states to dignify such a monstrosity as a so-called independent Transkei, or any of these toy administrations, with recognition. Up to now, as stated above, PAC and the ANC are recognised as the legitimate representatives of our people; it is unthinkable that the OAU would entertain a settlement PAC and ANC have not approved. The doubting Thomases usually have access to Vorster's ear, they can tell him from PAC that it is entirely up to him to scrap all his repressive laws and move from the way of free political activity which will test where the loyalty of the majority people of Azania lies.

#### Armed struggle & negotiations

4. There is also a question of the status of the Lusaka Manifesto at this stage of our struggle, especially in the light of the Mogadishu Declaration, which firmly committed Africa to supporting armed struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. We want to repeat what has been said before: negotiations and armed struggle are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The strength of the former grows from the latter, and to give up what is your strong point in negotiations is simply suicidal. The OAU member states can today use the Manifesto as a basis for making Vorster the following offers a) the immediate scrapping of all apartheid and repressive laws; b) the complete and unconditional release of all prisoners; c) the immediate lifting of the ban on PAC and the ANC, with copper-bottom guarantees (which means the deployment of our own armed forces to protect the African and other oppressed communities) that the movements will not be hampered in conducting any political activity mandated by the people; d) Vorster must make ready to hand over all the reins of power to a government representing the majority of the people of Azania. These are our minimum demands. I repeat: these are our minimum demands.

There is no freedom for Blacks to oppose Voster's racist regime, the arrests I have referred to speak for themselves. Also it is well known that every prominent member of the newly established Black mass organisations, labour and students movements has either been placed under house arrest, detained or hounded out of the country, in the same way as leaders and other activists of PAC and the ANC. The white opposition has always had the right to carry on with its activities, except for a handful from the defunct so-called white 'left'.

5. The treatment of distinguished people like Congressman Charles Diggs is ample evidence of just how much of a flop is the US policy of 'communication' to influence change in South African white society. And here I want to bring in the other three related questions on the AAI questionnaire: A) fair employment practices, b) diplomatic relations, c) sanctions, Congressman Diggs needs no reminding of the respect I have for him, respect which runs right through the ranks of our Party. But I must state what we have said before: we are in a war situation with the white minority regime. None appreciates more than the leaders of the Azanian people the suffering a temporal collapse of the South African economy will cause amongst the Black people, on whose behalf we have called on the world for a complete economic and trade boycott, which includes withdrawal of US companies and termination of all trade agreements with the racists. But the suffering of our people will undergo cannot be greater than that of, say, the people of Vietnam whose land has been carpet bombed, whose rice paddies have been poisoned and whose bridges and dams have been totally destroyed.

The Azania masses will suffer but the enemy will be ruined by total sanctions and made infinitely weak in the face of the attack from the forces of liberation. The significance of the fact that every democratically created and representative movement of the Azanian people - from PAC and the ANC to SASO and the BPC today - has endorsed the call for sanctions must not be overlooked. Indeed it should be the rallying call! We appeal to Congressman Diggs and other democratically minded American Congressman to join in a bold initiative that will certainly rock the the apartheid regime; we call for the Diggs Bill on fair employment practices to be upgraded and made into one calling for a total withdrawal of all US economic and trade links with a South Africa under white domination. This effect it will have: those who see nothing wrong with embargoes and blockades against countries with different social systems to that of the US, but find everything right in trading with Adolf Hitler's disciples in South Africa will not stand up to be counted. We must bear in mind that when American kids were dying in the trenches all over Europe and in the Pacific, Vorster was a pro-NAZI saboteur in South Africa, crimes for which he was later arrested and detained. Meanwhile, Potlako Leballo, Pearce Gqobose and other leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress were out there in North Africa and Europe fighting side by side with Americans and other allied forces in defence of democracy in the world, or so they believed. The fair employment and sanctions questions overlap and have been treated jointly in the foregoing argument. On the diplomatic front: it shamed many Americans I met, the fact that the US ganged up with Britain and France for the unprecedented triple veto to stop South African expulsion in the UN Security Council last October. The US, as a country professing democracy and equality amongst the peoples of the world, has a moral obligation to lead the break of diplomatic relations between western countries and the South African apartheid regime.

6. The OAU member states are in a better position to answer the question whether international airlines will ever be denied landing rights if they are en route to South Africa. We can only continue with our appeal for sanctions.

#### Reds under sea-bed

7. The Cape Sea route con game by NATO members is an unworthy stunt which cannot hold water in these days of so-called detente between the two super powers. The western mass media enthusiastically joins in this "reds under the sea bed" scaremongering which we find to be a shameful internationalisation of McCarthyism.

8. South Africa has established a fair amount of self sufficiency in arms supplies. She is far from independent. In the impending war she is going to have to fight against the Azanian liberation movement, apartheid South Africa, like Israel, will need heavy supplies of arms and ammunition from her western allies.

9. We have no evidence of a let up in the Arab oil embargo on South Africa, but we do know that Iran has increased its shipments to South African ports.

It is my sincere hope that the answers we have given, lengthy though they may have been, will make a useful contribution to the continuing dialogue - within the conference and bilaterally between participants.

As I am about to conclude, I would like to illustrate our situation in Africa by quoting from the following news broadcast:-

"The great African people have won brilliant victories in their fierce attacks on different aspects of imperialism, colonialism, racism, zionism and hegemonism, thus contributing significantly to the cause of fighting unity in the Third World. Today, the transitional government led by the Mozambique Liberation Front is in authority over its own land. And the Angolan people are strengthening unity and struggling for the realisation of their national independence.

"Inspired by the victories won by the people in the Portuguese territories, the national liberation armed struggles and mass movements of the southern African people are gathering strength. In the past year the guerilla fighters in Zimbabwe continuously launched fresh attacks to deal heavy blows at the white racist Smith regime. The Namibian guerillas intensified their struggle, inflicting greater casualties on the South African colonialist troops; the Azanian people's mass movement and strikes against the reactionary South African authorities are surging forward with unprecedented vigour. The successful development of the African national liberation movements has thrown into panic the white racist regimes entrenched in southern Africa."

This statement by China's official news agency shows that socialist countries understand African priorities and that is why they are winning more friends in Africa. Only when the US shows a similar understanding can relations between us improve.

I cannot conclude without saying to the AAI that we are glad to note that you have strayed back from your diversion which led you to bring Bantustan puppets to the last conference you had in Addis Ababa. As friends we want to tell you candidly that PAC regarded that as a stab in the back for the Azanian liberation movement. That is why, although we have maintained our friendship with individuals in the AAI, we have not bothered to continue the good contacts we had before. We hope that your present policy is a lasting one, because together we may help to promote better understanding between our two peoples.



ZAIRE's Commissioner of State for Foreign Affairs BULA MANDUNGU NYATI (Centre) chairs the meeting and listens attentively to the main address delivered by PAC's David M. Sibeko before several African foreign ministers and other top African representatives and US Congressmen during the Conference of African and American representatives in Kinshasa, last January. On Commissioner Bula's right sits Congressman Charles Diggs of the USA.



# SA Black leaders in exile support detente policy

By J.H.P. SERFONTEIN

**THE African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa has given its support to the policy of detente and the South African Government and Black countries to reach a peaceful settlement in Southern Africa.**

This was an important factor in making it possible for President Kaunda of Zambia to come out boldly in favour of detente. It enabled him to play a vital role in bringing pressure on the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) and the ANC fighters to abandon their terrorist activities against South Africa.

This development is perhaps the greatest political achievement by Mr Vorster in the last few months in view of the uncompromising militant actions of the exiled ANC over the last 15 years.

This information was given to me by sources connected with certain Black govern-

ments who have close ties with the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC) leaders in exile in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam.

I understand that this new attitude of the ANC has led to renewed quarrels and friction between the ANC and the PAC. The latter is adopting an uncompromising, hard-line attitude and insists that the military action should continue.

## Quarrels

In this it is backed by the Chinese communists, who have attacked the detente developments.

Decisive in this new approach by the ANC was the attitude of Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader serving a life sentence on Robben Island for treason. He is held in the highest regard in African and United Nations circles.

I am told that his office in Dar es Salaam and the Zambian Government are satisfied that he will back the detente developments,

although with certain reservations.

It is not known whether the South African and Zambian governments had directly or indirectly sounded out Mr Mandela's views at the time the detente movement was launched.

However, it is important to note that four months ago, before the detente moves came into the open, Mr Mark Chona, President Kaunda's right-hand man, and President Nyerere's secretary visited the ZAPU and ZANU detainees in jail in Rhodesia.

This paved the way for the later dramatic developments, and the negotiations only came into the open after these jailed political leaders had agreed to support detente.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster is aware of the importance of the "political prisoners" on Robben Island who are an important topic of discussion in negotiations with Black Africa. He obviously wants to avoid the possibility that this issue might become a

stumbling block in future negotiations.

During his talks with the homeland leaders a month ago he revealed an important change in his attitude towards this issue. In the past he simply refused to discuss it, saying that those in jail had been convicted of criminal offences.

## Approach

However, this time he said that he would consider the position of any individual prisoner on condition that the approach was made by the leader of the homeland to which such a prisoner belonged, and that the homeland leader would have to guarantee his future behaviour.

In the light of the news from Dar es Salaam that the ANC is backing detente it seems that Mr Vorster realises that he has to modify his uncompromising attitude of the past on such an emotional issue to Blacks as that of "political prisoners."

SUNDAY TIMES, February 23, 1975

COMMENT: The leadership of the African National Congress owes it to the Azanian people to openly state their position in the face of the crucial issues facing the entire National Liberation Movement of our country at this time: Are they for or against the Armed Struggle as the principal method through which our people must be freed? Are they for or against "dialogue" with the usurper and illegal apartheid regime of John Vorster? And if their answers favour armed struggle and rejection of dialogue with the illegal regime, are they for the creation of a common front at all relevant levels with all who are opposed to the common enemies - the white racist regime, its financiers and their hangers-on? Clear and unequivocal answers to these important questions are the only remedy for removing the bad stench around the ANC created by the above speculative report and rumours from other sources. -EDITOR.